

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19

OMB-01 AECE-00 RSR-01 /155 W
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P R 140915 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8828

INFO SECDEF/ WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 431

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR/ SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 3968

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FROM US REP MBFR

1. SUMMARY: DURING THIS REPORTING PERIOD THE COMPROMISE PACKAGE ON PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION WAS FINALLY WRAPPED UP AND THE WAY OPENED TO A FIRST PLENARY SESSION WHEN THE UK JOINED THE ALLIED CONSENSUS AUTHORIZING THE EMISSARIES TO WORK OUT THE CARRY- OVER/-WORKING GROUPS ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE EAST. NONETHELESS, THE COMMENCEMENT OF PLENARIES WAS THREATENED TOWARD THE END OF THE PERIOD WHEN A MISUNDERSTANDING AROSE CONCERNING THE LISTING OF STATES IN THE RUSSIAN TEXT OF THE PROCEDURES/ PARTICIPATION PACKAGE. END SUMMARY.

2. ON 7 MAY, THE ACTING UK REP (JOHNSON) REPORTED TO THE AD HOC GROUP THAT THE UK REP (THOMSON) HAD MET WITH KHLESTOV BEFORE
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RETURNING TO LONDON AND HAD BEEN CONVINCED OF THE FIRMNESS OF THE SOVIET POSITION REGARDING THE DETAILS OF CARRY- OVER/ OBSERVER/- WORKING GROUP ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PROCEDURES: PARTICIPATION PACK-

AGE. BEYOND THIS, THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE THOMSON/ KHLESTOV CONVERSATION WAS KHLESTOV'S DISAVOWAL OF ANY SPECIFIC TIME LINKAGE BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR. KHLESTOV CLAIMED THAT KVITSINSKIY'S PREVIOUS COMMENTS HAD BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD, AND THAT THE SOVIETS WERE READY TO GO AHEAD WITH DISCUSSION OF DATE, PLACE, AGENDA, AND COMMUNIQUE. KHLESTOV ANSWERED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE WHEN THOMSON ASKED HIM WHETHER THE SOVIETS WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO A DATE FOR MBFR FALL NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE THE HELSINKI TALKS HAD SETTLED ON THE DATE FOR THE FIRST PHASE OF CSCE.

3. ON 9 MAY, THE UK REP MADE A DRAMATIC RETURN TO VIENNA AND IN A SOMEWHAT THEATRICAL PRESENTATION ANNOUNCED THAT, IN SPITE OF GRAVE MISGIVINGS, LONDON WOULD GO ALONG WITH THE PACKAGE THAT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT WITH THE EAST. THE BRITISH MOVE WAS CONDITIONED UPON ACCEPTANCE BY THE OTHER ALLIES OF LONDON'S INTERPRETATION OF THE 27 APRIL NAC GUIDANCE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE REMAINDER OF THE VIENNA TALKS. THE BRITISH UNDERSTANDING, THOMSON SAID, WAS THAT THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD MOVE AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE THROUGH AN AGENDA EXPLORATION TO AN ATTEMPT TO HAVE AGREED BY THE END OF MAY A DATE, PLACE, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE FALL NEGOTIATIONS. MOST IMPORTANTLY HOWEVER, THE BRITISH THOUGHT THAT THESE QUESTIONS CONSTITUTED A PACKAGE: NO ONE PART COULD BE FINALLY AGREED WITH THE EAST UNTIL ALL THREE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS WERE SETTLED. MEMBERS OF THE GROUP ASSURED THE UK REP THAT THE BRITISH CONDITIONS WERE ASSUMPTIONS ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE GROUP HAD ALREADY BEGUN PLANNING FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TALKS.

4. THE US AND NETHERLANDS (QUARLES) REPS MET WITH THE SOVIET AND HUNGARIAN REPS ON 9 MAY AND AGREED ON THE FINAL DETAILS OF THE PACKAGE. THE TEXTS OF WESTERN AND EASTERN STATEMENTS ON CARRY OVER AND THE EASTERN STATEMENT ON OBSERVERS FOR INCLUSION IN THE RECORD OF THE 14 MAY RECORD WERE AGREED ALONG THE LINES DESIRED BY THE ALLIES. THE ORAL WORKING GROUP ASSURANCE WAS GIVEN BY THE ALLIES EMISSARIES. THE COMMUNIQUE TO ANNOUNCE AND FOLLOW THE FIRST PLENARY ALSO WERE AGREED-- ALSO ESSENTIALLY ALONG THE LINES DESIRED BY THE ALLIES. (TEXTS IN VIENNA 3833) MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE SOVIETS AGREED TO INCLUSION OF THE CARRY- OVER CONCEPT IN THE POST- PLENARY COMMUNIQUE, ELIMINATING ANY PRACTICAL REQUIREMENTS
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TO RECORD CARRY- OVER IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, ALTHOUGH THIS MAY BE DESIRABLE ON OTHER GROUNDS.

5. IN ADDITION TO AGREEING ON THE FORMULATIONS ESSENTIALLY AS THE ALLIES HAD DESIRED, THE SOVIETS HAVE TWO INFORMAL ASSURANCES.

FIRST, THE SOVIET REPS SAID THEY WOULD NOT SEEK SUBSEQUENT INCLUSION OF THE OBSERVER CONCEPT IN COMMON DOCUMENTS DURING THE CURRENT CONSULTATIONS, INCLUDING THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE. THEY RESERVED THE RIGHT TO RAISE THE SUBJECT IN UNILATERAL EASTERN STATEMENTS. SECOND, THE SOVIETS EXPLAINED THAT THEY WERE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO PROPOSE THE WORKING GROUP QUESTION AS AN AGENDA ITEM FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THEY ACCEPTED THE POSITION OF THE ALLIES REPS THAT AN ACTUAL DECISION ON WORKING GROUPS SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. LOOKING TOWARD THE AGENDA DISCUSSION, KHLESTOV ALSO SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO ENVISION THE USE OF INFORMAL GROUPS FROM EITHER SIDE TO DISCUSS AGENDA. IF THAT PROCEDURE WERE USED, THE EAST WOULD BE REPRESENTED BY CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND, THE GDR, AND THE USSR. KHLESTOV CONFIRMED SOVIET AGREEMENT ON ALL THE DECISIONS OF 9 MAY DURING THE WEST GERMAN RECEPTION THAT EVENING. DURING THE RECEPTION, THE UK, IRONICALLY, WAS DRAWN TO CHAIR THE FIRST PLENARY. AS A RESULT, THE CHAIRMEN OF THE FOUR SCHEDULED PLENARIES WOULD ALL BE WESTERN (UK, US, BELGIUM, AND CANADA).

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NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19

AECE-00 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W

----- 053277

P R 140915 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8829

INFO SECDEF/ WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 432

USMISSION GENEVA

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6. DURING THE FRG RECEPTION, THE ROMANIAN REP (CONSTANTINESCU) CONTINUED HIS EFFORTS TO BUILD WESTERN SUPPORT FOR A ROMANIAN

ROLE DISTINCT FROM THE REST OF THE EASTERN SIDE. IN PARTICULAR, HE RAISED WITH THE US AND UK REPS THE ROMANIAN DESIRE TO MAKE A SEPARATE NATIONAL PRESENTATION ON THE AGENDA DURING THE PLEANRY OF 17 MAY. DURING THE AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSION OF ROMANIAN DESIRES ON 10 MAY, MOST ALLIES THOUGHT THAT A ROMANIAN PRESENTATION COULD BE DISRUPTIVE BUT AGREED THAT THE WEST SHOULD NOT IN ANY WAY HELP THE SOVIETS SILENCE THE ROMANIANS. THE GENERAL PRESUMPTION WAS THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT LET THE ROMANIANS SAY MUCH OR ANYTHING IN ANY CASE.

7. LATER ON 10 MAY, IT APPEARED THAT THE HARD- WON COMPROMISE MIGHT COME UNDONE ON A MISUNDERSTANDING THAT CUT VERY CLOSE TO SOVIET AND WEST GERMAN INTERESTS. FOLLOWING AN EDITORIAL SESSION ON 10 MAY DURING WHICH THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEXT OF THE PROCE-

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DURES/ PARTICIPATION PACKAGE WAS APPARENTLY AGREED BETWEEN EAST AND

WEST, KHLESTOV SOUGHT OUT THE US REP AND ATTEMPTED TO RETRACT AGREEMENT TO LIST THE 19 PARTICIPANTS IN RUSSIAN ALPHABETICAL ORDER IN WHICH FRG WOULD BE LISTED UNDER LETTER " G" IN RUSSIAN AS THE " FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY." THE SOVIET REP IN THE EDITORIAL SESSION APPARENTLY HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN ACCEPTING THIS APPROACH-- WHICH CONTRADICTED MOSCOW' S INSTRUCTIONS. IF THE SOVIETS HAD TO GO BACK TO MOSCOW FOR NEW INSTRUCTIONS, KHLESTOV SAID, THE PLENARIES PROBABLY COULD NOT START ON 14 MAY.

8. BECAUSE THE SOVIETS HAD NOT DISPUTED THE ENGLISH, FRENCH, OR GERMAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS, IN WHICH THE FRG IS LOCATED IN THE ALPHABETICAL LISTING IN EACH CASE ACCORDING TO ITS ALPHABETICAL DESIGNATOR " GERMANY", THE WEST GERMAN REP (RUTH), AFTER CONSULTATING WITH BONN, DECIDED TO AVOID REOPENING THE DEBATE OVER THE DESIGNATION. RUTH TOOK THE LINE IN THE AD HOC GROUP THAT THE DESIGNATION HAD ALREADY BEEN SETTLED, AND THAT IF THE OTHER ALLIES COULD GO ALONG WITH LISTING STATES IN THE RUSSIAN VERSION ACCORDING TO THE ENGLISH ALPHABET, THEN HE COULD AS WELL. THE GROUP ACCEPTED THIS APPROACH. THE SOVIETS, APPARENTLY ALSO ANXIOUS TO FINESSE THE PROBLEM, AGREED TO ACCEPT A FOOTNOTE IN THEIR VERSION WHICH SPECIFIES THAT THE STATES ARE LISTED IN THE ENGLISH ALPHABETICAL ORDER. THROUGH THIS DEVICE, THE SOVIETS STAYED WITHIN THEIR INSTRUCTIONS BUT THE IMPLICATION OF THE ENTIRE PACKAGE OF TRANSLATIONS IS THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT EXPLICITLY CONTRADICT THE LISTING OF THE FRG UNDER " G" FOR GERMANY. THE ALLIES DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO REFER TO THE SOVIETS ANY PRESS QUERIES CONCERNING THE APPARENT INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THIS LISTING ARRANGEMENT.

9. ASSESSMENT: THE OPENING OF PLENARIES ON 14 MAY MEANS THAT, IN THEORY, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF CONCLUDING THE CURRENT TALKS BY THE END OF MAY. MUCH WILL DEPEND ON HOW EXTENSIVE A DISCUSSION OF AGENDA THE SOVIETS FEEL THEY MUST HAVE TO SATISFY THEIR INSTRUC-

TIONS. BEYOND THAT, THE MAIN SUBSTANTIVE DIFFICULTY WILL BE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A SINGLE DESCRIPTION OF THE TALKS. TWO FURTHER FACTORS COULD ALSO THREATEN THE END- OF- MAY TIMETABLE THAT BOTH EASTERN AND WESTERN PARTICIPANTS PROFESS TO SHARE: THE LINGERING POSSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIETS COULD STILL IMPOSE A DE FACTO LINK-AGE WITH CSCE; AND THE POTENTIAL FOR DELAY IN THE PROCESS OF GAINING THE REQUISITE NAC APPROVAL OF THE FINAL OUTCOME. MOWINCKEL

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 MAY 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA03968
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS MOWINCKEL
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730544/aaaajeoo.tel
Line Count: 237
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION MBFR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <25 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> gwr 980212
Subject: MBFR TALKS
TAGS: PFOR, BE, CA, UK, US, CSCE, MBFR
To: MBFR
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005